DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 246 036 SP 024 913

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TITLE Women's Studies as Counter-Hegemonic Work: The Case of Teacher Education.
PUB DATE Apr 84
NOTE 34p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (68th, New Orleans, LA, April 23-27, 1984).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Standards; *Change Strategies; Course Content; *Curriculum Development; *Feminism; Higher Education; Power Structure; Preservice Teacher Education; Program Content; Schools of Education; Sex Fairness; Social Action; *Teacher Education Programs; *Womens Studies

ABSTRACT

The intent of women's studies, the academic arm of the women's movement, is to create critical space where the debate over power and the production of knowledge can occur through the argument that the exclusion of women from the knowledge base brings into question that which has passed for wisdom. A survey was designed to provide a descriptive base for feminist curricular change efforts in teacher education, as well as to probe five areas regarding the political context within which feminist teacher educators are working: the visibility of sex equity as a curricular issue, administrative and peer response, student response, accreditation and certification standards, and the relationship of feminist teacher educators and women's studies. Survey data from teacher educators were triangulated with sex equity concerns, women's studies program directors, a textual analysis of course syllabi, and interview data to explore the counter-hegemonic possibilities and practices in teacher education. Noteworthy practices of top-ranked teacher education syllabi are outlined, and the experiences of feminist teacher educators are discussed and analyzed. A guide to current courses on gender in schools of education is appended. (JD)

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WOMEN'S STUDIES AS COUNTER-HEGEMONIC WORK:

THE CASE OF TEACHER EDUCATION

Paper presented at AERA, April, 1984

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WOMEN'S STUDIES AS COUNTER-HEGEMONIC WORK: THE CASE OF TEACHER EDUCATION

> One must make a pessimistic analysis of the situation, but when it's time for action, one must act with hope (Gramsci, quoted in Zimmerman, 1981).

This paper is part of a series of papers coming out of my dissertation work on feminist curricular change efforts in teacher education. Part I, delivered at AERA last year and circulated in the form of a monograph to all survey respondents, described and analyzed survey responses and course syllabi sent in by teacher educators with sex equity concerns. Part II, to be published in the Journal of Education's special winter issue on feminist theory, is the theoretical argument for women's studies as counter-hegemonic work. Neo-Marxist theory is taken to task for the male-centeredness of its search for historical actors and the possibilities for fundamental social change that open up when we put women at the center of our transformative aspirations are explored. Part IV, to be presented at the National Women's Studies Association annual conference this summer, provides an historical analysis that argues for teacher education as servant to a sexist society, probes the implications of the empowerment of women for the transformation of our schools, and, in this era of expanded professional opportunities for women, explores what change must occur if teaching is to continue drawing female talent. This present paper explores the counter-hegemonic possibilities and practices in feminist curricular change efforts in teacher education.

THE NOT-SO-DUTIFUL DAUGHTERS

> It has proved most difficult to "contain" the feminist critique within a hypothetical "bourgeois" perspective which will accept our oppressive social system and demand only that women be accorded an equal chance to "make it" within that structure. There is an inherent logic to feminism which may begin by merely questioning the "place" of women and men in society, but will end by rejecting the very bases of the social system (Manion, 1981:208).

Establishing women's studies was an outgrowth of the consciousness raising of women in the late 1960's (Howe, 1981). Women came to see what the social reproduction theorists assert: that the production and legitimation of knowledge through educational institutions is a major instrument of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bernstein, 1977; Althusser, 1971). Anderson notes that the relative autonomy of those who work in the academic sphere has been used traditionally, under the rubric of "academic freedom", to conceal the degree to which intellectual work has shored up the system of capital power (1976-77). This relative autonomy from those with political/economic control can be used by educational workers to critique the status quo and to foster alternatives that can undermine the reproduction of the social relations necessary to sustain the dominant hegemony. Women's studies is an exemplar of such potential. The intellectual power of the new scholarship on women is especially important given the growing consensus among neo-Marxists that symbolic power is now the focus of class struggle (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Williams, 1977; Therborn, 1980; Althusser, 1971).

Women's studies is intellectual consciousness-raising. It exists to articulate and diffuse an alternative world view that fosters skepticism regarding dominant discourse. Through mainstreaming efforts it focuses much of its attention on engaging traditional intellectuals in its efforts. Through an expanding array of

graduate programs, it creates its own "organic intellectuals". For academic women, feminist thought has struck a deep and genuine chord as evidenced by course offerings, the outpouring of feminist scholarship, and the "euphoric response" of female faculty and students (Fisher, 1982). Few corners of the academy remain untouched by feminist critique and reformulation. The intent of women's studies is to create critical space wherein the debate over power and the production of knowledge can occur through its cogent argument that the exclusion of women from the knowledge base brings into question that which has passed for wisdom. The aim is to transform both the substance and the processes of knowledge production and legitimation. Operating from its fragile toehold in the university, women's studies has turned from critiquing androcentrism to transforming the curriculum through infusion of the new scholarship on women.

FEMINISM, TEACHER EDUCATION AND CURRICULAR CHANGE

> Women's studies has a most important part to play in ensuring that knowledge, itself a form of social power, is not produced solely in the interests of the powerful and the influential, to the detriment of the powerless and the weak (Evans, 1982:73).

Women's studies, the academic arm of the women's movement (Howe, 1979), has been slow to focus on the "helping professions" in both its research and curricular change efforts. This inquiry begins to address that gap by assessing feminist curricular change efforts in teacher education. The study triangulates survey data from teacher educators with sex equity concerns (n=113) and women's studies program directors (n=60), a textual analysis of course syllabi (n=85), and interview data (n=9) in order to explore counter-hegemonic possibilities and practices in teacher education. Note 1 is a methodological overview.

I first delineate the usefulness of critical theory.[2] Then, using Tetreault, Arch and Kirschner's conceptual model for assessing the degree to which integration of the new scholarship on women in "transformative" versus "add-on" (1982), I

outline the noteworthy practices of the top-ranked syllabi. Finally, I use survey and interview data to probe the experiences of feminist teacher educators in order to ground a sense of counter-hegemonic possibilities in contemporary practice. A Guide to Current Courses on Gender in Schools of Education is in the Appendix.

The Helpfulness of Critical Theory

Feminist curricular change is largely an atheoretical practice. A theoretical framework is needed to clarify the dimensions of the struggle and the resources upon which we must draw. Critical theory offers a powerful and sustained argument that unmasks how "neutrality" and "objectivity" in knowledge production and legitimation function to secure the forces of privilege. Critical theory uncovers the structural reasons underlying curricular exclusion and bias and identifies the curriculum as a site of ideological struggle (Mazza, 1983). Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and counter-hegemony are especially helpful in clarifying the dimensions of the task of women's studies curricular transformation efforts. As a dialectical concept, hegemony alerts us to both the pervasiveness and the instability of dominant interests due to the contradictions inherent in the struggle to convince the subordinated that their condition is in the order of things. While there is always resistance to hegemony (Apple, 1982), counter-hegemonic movements are more ideologically conscious than resistance/contestation which operate at privatized, prepolitical levels (Miller, 1983; Anyon, 1983; McRobbie, 1978; Willis, 1977; Everhart, 1983). Counter-hegemony is a political/economic perspective on our own lack of power and the channeling of resistance to hegemonic norms into a movement toward fundamental structural change. The task of counter-hegemonic groups becomes the development of counter institutions, ideologies, and cultures that provide an ethical alternative to the dominant hegemony, a lived experience of how the world can be different.

While there is much study regarding knowledge as hegemonic force (Apple,

1979 ; Giroux, 1981 ; Anyon, 1979; Bernstein, 1977), there is very little focus on its counter-hegemonic potential. Women's studies is a living historical laboratory where curriculum mediates experience in emancipatory ways.

Curriculum as Counter-Hegemonic Force

How does women's studies demonstrate the extent tc which curriculum can tap discontent and channel it into a movement for fundamental structural change? After briefly underscoring the limitations of syllabi as data, I will begin with analysis of the teacher education course syllabi that ranked at the top of Tetreault, Arch and Kirschner's conceptual model for assessing the degree to which integration of the new scholarship on women is "transformative" versus "add on" (1982).

In addition to the gap between what we as teachers put on paper and what transpires in a class, syllabi provide no indication of either how women experience the curriculum or the psycho-social complex within which curricular change efforts are embedded. Additionally, Berenice Fisher's important caution must be taken into account: our very intellectual passion can be a trap that exaggerates our sense of the power of our teaching. "Like intellectuals in general, women of knowledge are prone to overestimate the power of ideas to effect social change and the power of classroom experience to redirect people's lives" (1982:67). Nevertheless, highlights of the syllabi give some flavor for the potential of "turn(ing) the curriculum back upon the hegemonic processes at work in the larger cultural sphere to counter their power" (Mazza, 1983:10).

The nineteen top-ranked syllabi (total n=85) share the following characteristics: they are interdisciplinary; they blend cognitive/affective/behavioral course goals; they probe the interactive dynamics of gender, class and race; and, they problematize knowledge through theoretical deconstruction and reconstruction.

Interdisciplinary. While not as unusual in education as in more discipline-

tied areas of the academy, all of these courses use the social sciences, especially history, sociology, psychology and political science. One course used fiction as a way to explore the educational experiences of black women and one used biographies and autobiographies of women to spur self-reflection on one's own educational history. However, these two courses were highly atypical in their inclusion of humanities materials and perspectives. The lack of humanities perspectives is troublesome given both women's studies' goal of unifying our approach to knowledge across disciplinary boundaries and the resonance of humanities materials for students needing exposure to the living worlds of alternative experiences and perspectives.

Blend cognitive/affective/behavioral course goals. Again, this trait is not that unusual in education courses as a whole. Noteworthy practices include:

- the writing of an educational autobiography of the women in one's family;

- giving a class presentation on the links between local educational systems' curricular and management practices and the historical and political context of women's education as presented in class readings and lectures;

- the use of small study groups "as a place for students to make personal, political and theoretical connections among 'life' and 'class' materials" (Psychology and Women);

- researching, preparing and presenting a non-sexist curricular unit in local schools;

- journal keeping that reflects intellectual understanding and personal reactions to class activities and discussions. "What are you learning? How does this relate to your personal experience? How does it relate to you as a potential teacher? What questions are you struggling with? What makes sense to you? What doesn't?" (Teaching for the Multicultural Society.)

Probe the dynamics of class/race/gender. Equity issues are not new to teacher

education. What is of note in these syllabi is the attention paid to the reciprocally confirming nature of all forms of inequality. For example, in a course entitled Feminist Philosophies of Education, life stories of women are read that cut across race, class and sexual orientation. The relationship of black mothers and daughters is studied along with Nancy Chodorow's work; images of minorities in the media are featured, and issues of class are addressed in a study of friendship, sex and love. Other examples are presented below.

Women and the Human Services (graduate): the experiences of black women teachers and therapists and lesbian mothers are looked at and the issue of class attitudes and professionalism is probed.

Women and Education (graduate): specific case studies of educational practice are presented that include privileged schooling abroad for upper-middle class girls, residential education for women, and contemporary adult education for Native American women. An undergraduate Women and Education course breaks down nineteenth century women's education into upper and middle class and working class experiences. Black female experiences both as students and teachers are examined, and cross-cultural perspectives include Third World women's educational experiences.

Women's Studies Curriculum Design (undergraduate): students explore how stereotypes vary on the basis of ethnicity, race and economic conditions. The politics of black women's studies and "compulsory heterosexuality" (Rich, 1980) are examined as curricular issues.

Teaching From a Feminist Perspective (undergraduate): issues of racism, classism, and heterosexism include such topics as the marginalization of black women in classrooms, empowering working class students, women's studies for women of color, and lesbian perspectives on women's studies.

Core Theory in Educational Administration (graduate): students must critique a piece of research for sex and race bias.

Women and Psychology (graduate): power and discrimination issues are probed

by looking at class, race and physical disability.

Problematize knowledge. Given the "methodology madness" that permeates teacher education (Mazza, 1982), problematizing knowledge through theoretical deconstruction and reconstruction is the most unique aspect of these syllabi. Viewing knowledge as problematic rather than as a given with a focus on the role of power in determining which knowledge is deemed of the most worth is approached in diverse ways as discussed below.

The Changing Role of Women in American Education (undergraduate): Traditional attitudes regarding women's education are critiqued with a focus on "Women's 'nature' and abilities," the feminization of teaching as a "women's" occupation, and the disregard of ordinary women's experiences in prefeminist analysis of women's education. The course ends with a collective effort to outline an appropriate education for women of the future.

Feminist Philosophies of Education (graduate): Issues of race, class, gender and sexual orientation are brought to the center of an investigation into "Nature versus Nurture: What Can Women Learn?" Liberal, socialist and radical feminist perspectives are presented and both philosophy and education are expanded beyond their male-centered definitions to include such topics as "Mothers, Daughters and Learning to Nurture and Serve", "The Lessons of Friendship, Sex and Love," and "New Knowledge and the Women's Movement: Teaching Each Other."

Women in the Human Services: History and Theory (graduate): Various theoretical perspectives on women's work are surveyed and course topics include the human services as "women's work", what is gained and lost in the thrust toward professionalization, and issues for women in the human services including personal costs, relationships with clients, and the problem of female achievement within male-dominated structures of power. The course concludes with a look at alternatives to bureaucracy including readings on the limits and potential of self-help, battered women's refuges and the feminist workplace.

Women and Education (graduate): The genesis of scientific and common sense assumptions about women are explored and women's education is examined from a macroperspective which includes the interactions of school, political economy, and family. A major course goal is "developing a framework for viewing knowledge as a social production".

Women and Education (undergraduate): The concept of "the hidden curriculum" is used to explore the reproduction of sex stereotypes and the sexual division of labor in society. The consequences of women's education in terms of the economy, "women's work" and the family are considered from the perspective of various theoretical frameworks.

Teaching From a Feminist Perspective (undergraduate): The theories, goals and methods of liberal, humanistic, socialist and radical approaches to feminist teaching are surveyed and students are expected to formulate their own conception of a feminist perspective on teaching that delineates a theoretical basis as well as goals and methods.

Social Stratification and Leadership in American Organizations (undergraduate): A sociology of knowledge approach is used to probe the importance of context on theory development and to encourage students to see the influence of point of view, methodology of study, and value framework as key components in theoretical formulations. For example, Freud's stages of development are studied to assess their implications regarding women and power; the roots of the "human relations" view on the distribution of power are studied within the larger issue of culture as a means of social control.

Highlights of the nineteen top-ranking course syllabi suggest how "the political act we call women's studies" (Howe, 1981) can embody counter-hegemonic practices and possibilities. Knowledge becomes problematic rather than a given, there is a commitment to multi-cultural perspectives, and new analytical categories such as heterosexism and patriarchy alter the

way issues are conceptualized and studied. Additionally, issues are approached within a macro-economic context which focuses on the role of power in determining which knowledge is deemed of the most worth. There is also an effort to foster critical understanding of where theory comes from and its relationship to power and oppression.

As academic women come to feminist consciousness, their approach to teaching and scholarship changes (Fisher, 1982). The ensuing reformulations of pedagogy and research approaches are intent upon changing both the shape of the disciplines and the face of the academy (Bowles and Duelli-Klein, 1983). The goal is to shift the processes of knowledge production and legitimation to serve the interests of those struggling against oppression rather than to sustain the forces and relations of privilege.

The Experiences of Feminist Teacher Educators

> The professional schools on our campus into which women are entering in great numbers . . . tend to give more attention to the importance of women's studies than do schools which have been traditionally populated by women (survey response).

Looking at schools of education, one is struck by the preponderance of female students, male professors (especially as one moves up the ranks),[3] and male administrators. One thinks of public schools with their 70 percent female teaching corps, 78 percent male elementary principals, 96 percent male secondary principals, and 99 percent male superintendents (Clement, 1980:132). One begins to wonder what teacher training is designed to train teachers to do and to be. What can we learn from those who teach in ways designed to stymie the reproduction of dutiful daughters destined as handmaidens for the transmission of the dominant culture?

Because the intent of this paper is to explore the degree to which feminist curricular change efforts in teacher education give shape to counter-hegemonic

practices and possibilities, I will only sketch patterns that emerge out of survey responses. (See Lather, 1983, for a full report of survey responses.)

The survey was designed to provide a descriptive base for feminist curricular change efforts in teacher education as well as to probe five areas regarding the political context within which feminist teacher educators are working: the visibility of sex equity as a curricular issue, administrative and peer response, student response, accreditation and certification standards, and the relationship of feminist teacher educators and women's studies.

The following are descriptive characteristics of feminist curricular change efforts in teacher education. Infusion, the integration of sex equity issues into the content of existant courses, is far more prevalent than separate course development. Twenty-four infused syllabi and 61 separate courses on some aspect of women in education were submitted, but most of the work described in the surveys was infusion work that cannot be captured in a syllabus. One response typifies what the majority referred to: "I infuse at every opportunity and often create the opportunity." About half of both infused and separate courses are open to undergraduates. As the Guide to Current Courses on Gender in Schools of Education makes clear (see Appendix), both separate and infused courses span a wide range of disciplinary areas in education. Class composition in the separate courses was overwhelmingly female. The norm for separate courses is small numbers taught yearly or biannually. In comparison, infused courses reach many more students. Separate courses were largely initiated by the present instructor and a handful received outside monies (FIPSE, Carnegie-Mellon, WEEA) with the attendant increase in prestige that outside funding brings.

Regarding the political context of feminist curricular change efforts in teacher education, survey responses suggest that sex equity is largely invisible as a curricular issue in schools of education. Additionally, the

curricular structure of teacher education is characterized by a required sequence of courses that leaves little, if any, room for electives and less flexibility for faculty given courses that must be taught and the time-consuming demands of field-site supervision. Deans are indifferent more often than not. Amongst both administrators and peers, counter examples exist, but the norm is, "with tolerance but nothing beyond token, paternalistic support." Two dominant patterns emerge in student responses. One is that infused courses elicit a much broader range of reactions. Usually required, it is in infused courses that hostility is most often encountered. The second pattern in student response is a broader and deeper enthusiasm on the part of female students. Accreditation agencies and state certification requirements provide little support for increasing the visibility of sex equity issues in teacher education. Concern regarding curricular inclusion of sex equity is seldom evident under NCATE's Multicultural Standard, although counter-examples attest to the difference accreditation and state certification requirements can make. (See Policies For The Future, 1982, for a listing of state certification requirements regarding sex equity.)

The relationship of feminist teacher educators and women's studies is greatly varied. Very few education students take women's studies courses. The exception to this is when a multicultural or human relations requirement includes women's studies courses as a choice. Yet some exceptions to the dominant pattern of "like ships passing in the night" exist. Fifty percent of the women's studies directors (n=30) report cross-listed courses with education; the same number report education faculty serving on women's studies committees. Institutional cooperation was alluded to through descriptions of projects that bring women's studies and education faculty together to work with public school teachers; some feminist teacher educators advise students with minors in women's studies; three institutions have a teacher education minor in women's studies (Kansas State University,

University of Illinois at Urbana, and Central Washington University). Generally speaking, however, close relations between feminist teacher educators and women's studies are "between persons more than an institutional tie." In addition, a combination of arts and sciences hauteur, institutional boundaries and the overwork of most women's studies faculty often results in feminist teacher educators wrapping themselves in quiet isolation within a context full of disincentives to their work. "Few know of my infusion efforts" was an oft-given response which the survey of women's studies directors made clear extends not just to teacher education administrators and peers but also to women's studies personnel.

To summarize survey responses, women's studies with its fostering of new research on women, curriculum development and mainstreaming efforts has, in many ways, a separate and parallel movement in teacher education which uses language like "sex-fair" and "educational equity" as opposed to "women's studies". Title IX implementation, sex-fair curriculum development, breaking barriers to women in public school administration, preparing nonsexist teachers, and a host of other K-12 concerns have proceeded generally independently from women's studies programs typically housed in arts and sciences divisions.

Overall, with few exceptions, sex equity remains "an optional and peripheral issue" (Powers, 1981:21) in most schools of education. Curricular change depends on individual faculty initiative within a context of institutional disincentives. Accrediting agencies largely ignore the issue, especially at the curricular level. Finally, much work remains in forging links between teacher education and women's studies.

Nine teacher educators working within this general context were interviewed. Given the handful of interviews conducted and the lack of any triangulation of emergent issues, what follows can only be suggestive. Interview questions

were theoretically generated to ground a sense of counter-hegemonic possibilities in the practices of feminist teacher educators. By eliciting both engaging approaches and the vocabulary of motive and rationale, the degree to which curricular and pedagogical change efforts are tied to long term structural change is made clearer. By probing perceived sources of legitimation/support, the empowering/debilitating aspects of the marginalization of women's studies work are underscored.

Workable Approaches. One can sketch the mid-range social context for feminist curricular change efforts in teacher education as follows. The public schools have a vested interest in a cheap and docile labor supply. Schools of education have a vested interest in attracting students in an increasingly desperate enrollment decline. Depending upon ideological position, the public wants diametrically opposed things to happen in schools. Teachers want job security and humane working conditions. Education students want whatever it takes to get a job. Within this context, the central suggestions that emerged from the interviews in terms of engaging strategies are the need not to push too hard too fast and the recommendation to build on already existent equity concerns.

> It's important to make spaces that are safe for moderate women, those comfortable with terms such as "sex-fair curriculum" but not with "feminist." I hate Title IX; it's so boring. But it is a wedge, a legal instrument for dealing with these issues.

> My major guideline in working with public school teachers is to build on their concern with preparing kids for the world, to help both male and female students achieve their individual potential. It's especially important to co-focus on racism to expand our legitimacy. They fear monolithic "me only" attitudes. Plus it's really easy for them to see the way racial boundaries limit kids' opportunities.

> We're into a snowballing phenomenon. People you'd never expect are coming to us, getting materials, incorporating them into their courses. While faculty development in women's studies in the School of Education is very uneven, the formal curriculum is looking increasingly good. The informal curriculum--counseling, expectations--is another matter. A developing trend seems to be a multi-equity approach that serves us well in that it allows us to transcend the self-serving, self-aggrandizing image of feminism.

The first step is a patchwork quilt where faculty add a little bit here and there from feminist scholarship. The second step is faculty reeducation through show and tell. Effectiveness speaks. There has to be a receptivity, a nervousness that gets faculty questioning along these lines. Then it's up to us to reach out. Bring relevant articles to their attention, invite response along the lines of, "I'm thinking of using this and would appreciate your reaction being it's in your field." The one-to-one button-holing approach can be supplemented but not replaced. A more formal faculty development approach, however, can get the ball rolling.

Motive and Rationale. Respondents note the high degree of personal satisfaction as well as the desire to empower education students, 70 percent of whom are female, to more clearly see their positions in the world. The following responses also underscore the recognition that counter-hegemonic consciousness is not produced by emancipatory content alone. Feminist pedagogy is seen as central if we are to provide the powerful images and experiences that can shake us out of the mutually confirming aspects of hegemony, especially our sense of the limits of possibilities.

A big factor in our persistence is the connection of private, political and public personas that this work allows.

The reward is intellectual and personal commitment and the filling of the need for a sense of community.

Students will be able to see themselves as subjects, to take responsibility for decisions and understand themselves as located within a social context. What needs to be defended is male imposition of a single world view rather than our attempt to claim our own education. A male colleague said about our Balanced Curriculum Project, "You want to put your finger on the scale." I replied, "No, we want to take your's off"....I don't worry about imposition because interactive pedagogy guards against it. My goal is to have students know their own lives better.

If students don't know about the specificity of women, they won't know how to deal with one-half of their students, with single-parent family realities, with what it means to be mother-reared in a society that looks down on both women and care-giving....I think teacher education is at the very heart and core of possible mass of impact. Each of our students touches the lives of hundreds of kids. Being in a college of education, all of which are primarily working class professional schools, especially for minority males, is exactly where I want to be, where I feel I can be the most effective.

The course changes students. Their need for external affection decreases while there is an increase in their willingness to express

affection for others and to assume leadership. There is also the aspect of recruiting quality people into teaching. I was surprised at how many women's studies students decide to get a teaching certificate a year or so after the course.

Content in my course is somewhat a given (reading methods). So I increasingly focus on process: Limiting competition, creating risk-taking environments for my all-female elementary education students who have been socialized into learned helplessness; inclusive language....Empowering women students will make better teachers. Personally empowered teachers will control the learning environment in a self-confident, clear-thinking manner. They will not be tied to pre-packaged curriculum materials. They will be initiators and problem solvers who can accept differences among students. Women are the present but definitely the future of education. And it will take empowered women to have a quality educational system. Present policies are not in the best interest of either kids or teachers.

Legitimation/Support. Three respondents perceived broad based cultural support that creates a cumulative effect to which their efforts contribute. Two referred specifically to a growing sense of male support:

Overt sexism is gone. The subtle stuff is more difficult, but there's a growing number of men who sincerely desire working on these issues. Men are getting messages from important women in their lives that they need to work on this. The workplace offers an opportunity to work on personal growth.

We've nurtured good male allies along the way. I'll always try honey before vinegar. It's paid off in the eleven years of the Women's Studies Program. Male colleagues (in teacher education) are glad to get women's studies students in their classes. They appreciate their critical thinking skills. The breadth of what we're doing and our pedagogy incite a lot of interest.

One spoke to the cultural forces encouraging elementary teachers to broaden their conceptions of career choices for children:

My major support is from the teachers themselves. They have the excitement of the newly converted. The grassroots is really there. Once you get them going, they teach themselves and one another.

One respondent felt legitimated by student success:

My students go on to work in universities, bilingual education, Title IX activism. They are mature radicals. They know how to work the system. Getting through teacher education is a lesson in itself!....We'll have a tenth year reunion of my Sexism in Education class. I work in the schools. There are hundreds of my graduates out there working with the State Department of Education and local school systems. One is on the local school board and another is an assistant to the Governor. The state Title IX

Coordinator is another student. Links grow as the years go by. I see how my students think, what they do, how they influence people.

While there was an absence of an embattled tone, the central issue that emerged is the need for a protective culture.

> Working on our Balanced Curriculum Project, we formed the strongest friendship network I've ever had--largely due to ideological, personal, professional and intellectual convergences. This began with a feminist theory group that we designed to get us ready for the mainstreaming effort. As corny as it sounds, it changed my life!....It feels overwhelming so often; I'm consumed by how great the task it. I'm a fighter, but I don't live my life in an adversarial context. I've gained a terrific sense of empowerment, the sense of having the tools to describe to myself and others the process I engage in when I teach. I have a sense of the work to be done, a sense of purpose, a sense of what to do with my 60's radicalism, a sense of community, efficacy, all the things psychologists say we need to get from our jobs.

> I went to grad school in the early 60's. Everything was white middle-class men. Then I found women's studies. It helped me built a perspective, theory, goals. It changed my life, supported ideas I didn't know I had. I had the economic perspective through my leftist political work, but I didn't know the personal side of what happens. One sees one's own life and then you begin to see others.

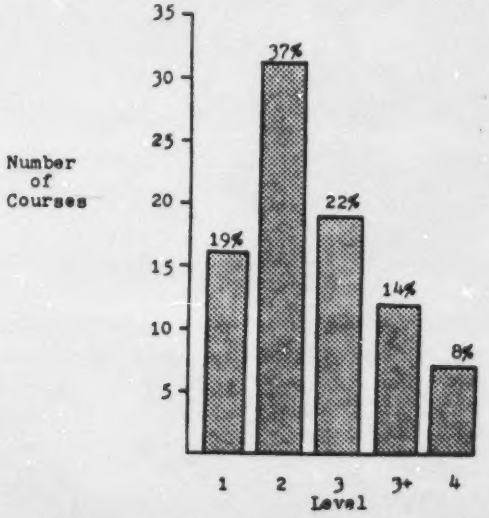
> Without the women's studies community, it's questionable I'd still be doing what I'm doing. I would have just gotten out--I was very close to it....I was almost driven out by the dues I thought I'd have to pay according to non-feminist criteria. In order to be legitimated as a teacher educator, I thought I had to be a female copy of a white heterosexual middle-class male. The price to me as a human being just seemed too high. Personal/professional issues are so intertwined. My struggle was to feel I could be my authentic self, to have a quality existence in this environment. Without women's studies and support from teacher education peers, especially a supportive administrator, I wouldn't have made it. A typical patriarchal person would have made the system too heavy for me. Now I'm empowered and can deal.

TOWARDS A PRAXIS OF FEMINIST CURRICULAR CHANGE EFFORTS IN TEACHER EDUCATION

To see feminist curricular change efforts in their full complexity entails a recognition of both hegemonic forces and counter-hegemonic possibilities. Academic feminists are strategically situated to forge the trarsformed epistemology and pedagogy central to a broad based counter-hegemonic practice. Given the importance of schooling in the transmission of the dominant culture, teacher education is especially central. What light can be shed on counter-hegemonic possibilities by probing the experiences of feminist teacher educators?

The issue that brings into focus both the limitations and potential of feminist curricular change efforts in teacher education is that of a sex equity versus a women's studies approach to infusing feminist perspectives into the education of teachers. The analysis of syllabi revealed that over half (56 percent) of teacher educators with sex equity concerns were constructing their courses in ways that failed to capture the essence of women's studies: the real subversion women's studies can represent in its insistence upon a transformed epistemology and pedagogy.

Syllabi Breakdown Using Tetreault, Arch and Kirschner's
"The Inclusion of Women and the Conception of a Discipline" (1982)



The 19 percent (n=16) at level 1 of Tetreault, Arch and Kirschner's model simply add such items as the recognition of sexism in textbooks or the use of sex-air language to an otherwise intact curriculum. The 37 percent (n=31) of courses at level 2 are interdisciplinary and blend cognitive/affective/behavioral goals, but knowledge remains a given rather than becoming problematic and there is little, if any, effort to analyze knowledge production within a socio-political context. This tendency to encourage students to accept uncritically a received body of knowledge is especially prevalent in the infused syllabi. The heavy dependence on infusion strategies combined with an "add women and stir" approach to curricular integration of the new scholarship on women as opposed to Mazza's call for a "transformative concept of integration" (1983) result in too little of the work aiming towards a deconstruction and reconstruction of the knowledge base and processes of teacher education.

Survey data suggest reasons for this tendency to operate at an "add on" rather than a "transformative" level: the hold on teacher education curriculum of accreditation and certification standards which ignore the importance of sex equity in education, the troublesome charade of affirmative action compounded by a no-growth economy, institutional barriers to more programatic links between feminist teacher educators and women's studies, and a required sequence of courses that leaves little room for education electives and results in a heavy dependence upon infusion strategies. Additionally, the interviews underscore the need for educational workers struggling toward social change to be able to tap into a large social movement in order to provide a sense of legitimacy and solidarity. Another theme emerging from the interviews is the importance of couching our work with both preservice teachers and the public schools in multi-equity, human potential terms that appear merely reformist rather than deeply subversive.

The danger, of course, is in losing our way amidst reformist language and low level curricular integration. James Sears writes:

> It is one matter to explore sex-stereotyping in textbooks published a thousand miles away. It is quite another matter to explore the meaning of being female in a teacher training program, to examine the nature of a female dominated profession that routinely has men at its helm, or to discover the psychological mechanisms whereby such inequities remain taken-for-granted, unquestioned, and acceptable (1983:58).

"Sex equity" versus "women's studies" is an issue for feminist teacher educators to the degree that the former allows us not to confront the epistemological and political implications of women's studies. It is not enought to add women's interests to an already overloaded curriculum. It is not enough to train teachers to recognize sexism in textbooks or to use sex-fair language. Feminist curricular change in teacher education must be used to initiate and sustain a process of critical inquiry that will enable teachers to see their own lives and their classroom behavior in terms that bring into question that which has passed for knowledge. As Elizabeth Minnich notes, "We do not <u>add</u> the idea that the world is round to the idea that the world is flat" (quoted by Peggy McIntosh, NWSA, 1983).

A second argument for the need for feminist teacher educators to transcend a narrow sex equity approach and to ally with women's studies perspectives on pedagogy and research is the caution Berenice Fisher raises. The feminist image of the university as "the cradle of social transformation of the society as a whole" disallows the potential for cooptation that is as strong as the potential for diffusion of a transformative vision. "Higher education is not a simple terrain" (1982:61,65). Cooptation can be abated to the degree we operate from radical pedagogical and research paradigms. Much incorporation of oppositional tendencies appears as recognition, acknowledgement, and acceptance (Williams, 1977:125). Radical pedagogy and new research paradigms are critical to fight the cooptation

inherent in any measure of legitimation and institutionalization. Ideological combat always threatens to become elitist and obscurantist and to isolate intellectuals from broad based dialogue. The role of feminist intellectuals emerges as one of engagement in a cultural offensive where issues that are alive are singled out and elaborated. We must learn from others about their own lives. The role of intellectuals becomes that of enhancing awareness of structural constraints and the struggles against them and then helping to build new possibilities by tapping resonant themes upon which the dominant culture defaults.

We have to begin where we can. But we also need to strive for a balance between fully recognizing hegemonic powers and maximizing the potential present in the spaces created by the contradictions inherent in the "unhappy marriage"[5] of liberalism and advanced monopoly capitalism, contradictions especially profuse in educational work. There are pockets of openness to alternative visions that will go unnoted until we look for and cultivate them. The "one-to-one buttonholing" strategy argued for as essential by one interview respondent is slow work. Education, however, has never been anything but slow work. Howe sees the new scholarship on women and the resulting curriculum "as revolutionary for our century as the original body of scholarship that changed theistic patterns of education in the United States a century ago" (1981:11). What we must not lose sight of is that the struggle is over the right to a curriculum that teaches about privilege and the need for struggle.

Conclusion

Women's studies has its problems: program survival in a time inhospitable to social movements committed to a more equitable world; cooptation and careerism; and the dangers of low level curricular integration that disallows the epistemological and political changes

necessary if knowledge is to serve collective as opposed to dominant interests. But feminist is presently the most diffused and politicized culture of resistance in the United States taking full advantage of the profound crisis of established paradigms in intellectual thought (Habermas, 1981). Its aim is to generate a cultural renewal out of the energy released by the struggle <u>against</u> privilege and <u>for</u> self-definition. To the degree the search is for a socially emancipatory praxis, women's studies can serve as an important catalyst in moving toward the unity of theory and practice necessary for a broad based counter-hegemonic movement.

NOTES

[1]Sample: The snowball sampling process (Herriott and Firestone, 1983) began in 1981 with an effort to update McCune and Matthews' 1975 "Confirmed List of Women's Studies Courses in Schools or Departments of Education." In 1982, a survey and request for syllabi was mailed to 250 based on the above respondents plus 1) teacher educators on the Women Educators and Mid-Atlantic Center for Sex Equity mailing lists, 2) a request for responses placed in the Summer, 1982 issues of the Women Educators Newsletter and the Women's Studies Quarterly, and 3) referrals made by survey respondents. I have received a 45% return rate comprised of 88 surveys, 25 non-survey responses and a total of 85 course syllabi.

In Feb. of 1983, I sent a survey regarding the linkages between women's studies and schools of education to one-third of the women's studies directors listed in the 1982 Women's Studies Program List (Women's Studies Quarterly, 10(3), Fall, 1982). I have received sixty responses including sixty-three referrals for a 43% return rate.

Data Collection: Data collection occurred on two levels. The first level data base included survey responses, a textual analysis of course syllabi, and interviews.

-The survey sent to feminist teacher educators was designed to elicit information regarding their infused and separate course offerings and their analysis of the political context within which they work. The survey sent to women's studies directors asked for a description and analysis of the linkages between women's studies and teacher education.

-Syllabi were analyzed using "The Inclusion of Women and the Conception of a Discipline," a conceptual model for assessing the degree to which the new research on women is an impetus for curricular reform vs. an add-on in an already overloaded course content (Tetreault, Arch and Kirschner, 1982).

In addition to this conceptual model, I also looked at the extent to which the syllabi reflected keeping abreast of the latest feminist scholarship and the extent to which feminist pedagogy played a role in the course (Fisher, 1982). Karen Mazza's questions regarding pedagogical techniques and classroom social relationships were especially helpful (Mazza, 1983).

-Interviews were conducted with survey respondents attending either AERA in Montreal in April, 1983 (n=4) or NWSA in Columbus, Ohio, in June, 1983 (n=5).

The second level of data collection featured the mailing to all respondents of a monograph that summarized and analyzed the first level data base and solicited respondents' assessment of descriptive accuracy and analytical validity. This "member check" (Guba and Lincoln, 1981) was an effort to assess respondents' perceptions of descriptive validity, resonance of theory building efforts, and usefulness of the monograph. I received 45 responses for a 25% return rate. Issues of methodology are more thoroughly addressed In Lather, 1983.

[2]I use this term interchangeably with neo-Marxism. Generally associated with the Frankfurt School (1927-), critical theory exemplifies the twentieth century revitalization of Marxism. Neo-Marxism is generally equated with cultural Marxism or Western Marxism and further divided into the various forms of Marxist revitalization: neo-Hegelian, Althusserian "scientific" neo-Marxism, critical theory, and, I would add, Marxist-feminism or socialist-feminism. See Gintis, 1980; Horkheimer, 1972; Marcuse, 1964; Habermas, 1971, 1973; Gramsci, 1971; Lukacs, 1968; Therborn, 1980; Eisenstein, 1979. See, especially, Stanley Aronowitz, THE CRISIS IN HISTORICAL MATERIALISM: CLASS, POLITICS AND CULTURE IN MARXIST THEORY. N.Y: Praeger, 1981.

[3]For example, at Indiana University (combined Bloomington and IUPUI campuses), women represent 22 percent of the education faculty but only 14 percent of full professors (School of Education Commission on Women Report, 1982). The national average in 1980 of female professors was 26 percent with 10 percent at full professor status. Title IX: Half Full, Half Empty Glass. Washington, D.C.: National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, Fall, 1981.

[4]Forty-six percent of the syllabi did address issues of transforming epistemology and politics. Twenty-two percent (n=19) were at level 3 where knowledge becomes problematic rather than a given, there is a commitment to multi-cultural perspectives, and new analytical categories such as heterosexism and patriarchy alter the way issues are conceptualized and studied. Fourteen percent (n=12) were at level 3+ where class is added to the analysis as issues are approached within a macro-economic context which focuses on the role of power in determining what knowledge is deemed of the most worth. There is also an effort to foster critical understanding of where theory comes from and its relationship to power and oppression. Eight percent (n=7) were at level 4 where feminist analysis is used to view male experience as well as female experience.

[5]This phrase is borrowed from Heidi Hartmann's essay, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Toward a More Progressive Union." In L. Sargent (Ed.), Women and Revolution. Boston: South End Press, 1981, 1-42.

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APPENDIX:
GUIDE TO CURRENT COURSES ON GENDER IN SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION

ELEMENTARY AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

Northeastern Ill. Univ., 5500 N. St. Louis, Chicago 60625
Sandra Styer, NONSEXIST STRATEGIES FOR PARENTS AND TEACHERS OF YOUNG CHILDREN

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

New Mexico, Univ. of, Albuquerque 87131
Kay Morgan, WOMEN AND SPORTS

Georgia, Univ. of, Athens 30602
Patricia Del Rey, SPORT AND THE AMERICAN WOMAN

N. Mexico, Univ. of, Albuquerque 87131
Elizabeth Stefanics, WOMEN AND A LEISURE PERSPECTIVE

Mass., Univ. of, Amherst 01003
Pat Griffin, FOCUSING ON RACE AND SEX EQUITY IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION and EDUCATIONAL EQUITY IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Indiana Univ., Bloomington 57405
Mary Lou Remley, WOMEN AND SPORT

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Hofstra Univ., Hempstead, NY 11550
Charol Shakeshaft, WOMEN IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon
Patricia Schmuck, SEX EQUITY IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, SEX ROLES IN EDUCATION: FOCUS ON STUDENTS, and EQUITY IN EDUCATION

FOUNDATIONS

Oklahoma,Univ. of, Norman 73019
Courtney Ann Vaughn-Roberson, WOMEN IN EDUCATION

Saskatchewan, Univ. of, Saskatoon, Canada S7N 0W0
Women and Education Summer Institute (WESI), Lillian Keck, staff contact person, WOMEN AND EDUCATION and WOMEN AND THE TEACHING PROFESSION

Northeastern Ill. Univ., 5500 N. St. Louis, Chicago 60625
Nancy Green, THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN AMERICAN EDUCATION, SEXISM IN EDUCATION, and HISTORY OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Oregon, Univ. of, Eugene 97403
Toby Edson, HISTORY OF WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Indiana Univ., Bloomington 47405
Wm. Reece, EDUCATION AND WOMEN IN AMERICA

Stanford Univ., Stanford CA 94305
David Tyack, Myra Strober and Elizabeth Cohen, SEX AND EDUCATION

New York Univ., 737 E. Bldg., Wash. Sq., NY City 10003
Berenice Fisher, FEMINIST PHILOSOPHIES OF EDUCATION and WOMEN IN THE HUMAN SERVICES: HISTORY AND THEORY

SUNY, ED349, Albany, NY 12222
Linda Nicholson, GENDER AND KNOWLEDGE and WOMEN AND EDUCATION

N. Mexico, Univ. of, Albaquerque 87131
Ann Nihlen, HISTORY OF WOMEN IN EDUCATION and SEXISM IN EDUCATION

CURRICULUM

Delaware, Univ. of, Newark 19711
Roberta Golinkoff, THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM: SEX ROLES

Mass., Univ. of, Amherst 01003
Kathryn Girard, DEVELOPING NON-SEXIST AND FEMINIST CURRICULUM

Kansas State Univ., Manhattan 66506
Nancy Smith, CURRICULUM MATERIALS FOR NON-SEXIST TEACHERS

Bowling Green State Univ., Bowling Green, Ohio 43403
Shirley Langham Johnson, TITLE IX: SEXUAL EQUITY IN SCHOOLING

Mankato State Univ., Mankato, MN 56001
Fran McDonald, WOMEN IN SOCIETY: RESOURCES

Colorado, Univ. of, Ketchum 30, Boulder 80309
Barbara Parker, WOMEN'S STUDIES CURRICULUM DESIGN

Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, NY 14627
William Pinar, GENDER, SEXUALITY AND CURRICULUM STUDIES

N. Florida, Univ. of, Jacksonville 32216
Mary Grimes, THE GENDER-FREE CURRICULUM

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Illinois, Univ. of, Urbana 61820
Gail Rooney, SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOLING

New Mexico, Univ. of, Albuquerque 87131
Vera John Steiner, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN.

Penn., Univ. of, Philadelphia 19104
Michelle Fine, EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN

SUNY, Oneonta, NY 13820
Paula Holleran, THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEXISM IN SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

Tenn., Univ. of, 212 Claxton Bldg., Knoxville 39716
Donna Young, PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX-ROLE DEVELOPMENT

Penn. State, Ogontz Campus, Abington 19001
Lita Schwartz, PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN

HIGHER EDUCATION

UCLA, MOORE HALL, Los Angeles 90024
Helen Astin, WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Oklahoma, Univ. of, Norman 73019
Marilyn Afleck, WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Cal., Univ. of, Berkeley 94720
Geraldine Clifford, WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

COUNSELING

New Mexico, Univ. of, Albuquerque 87131
Vonda Long, NON-SEXIST COUNSELING

California State Univ., Hayward 94542
Beatrice O. Pressley, COUNSELING WOMEN

Florida, Univ. of, Gainesville 32611
Phyllis Meek, WOMEN`S ISSUES IN THE COUNSELING PROFESSION

See Cecelia Foxley`s book, Nonsexist Counseling, Dubuque, Iowa: Hunt, 1979 for the following syllabi: PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF MEN`S AND WOMEN`S ROLES, SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING AND SOCIALIZATION IN EDUCATION, HUMAN SEXUALITY, and NONSEXIST COUNSELING.

INTERDISCIPLINARY

S. Florida, Univ. of, Tampa 33620
Ellen Kimmel, LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN WOMEN

San Diego State Univ., 92182
Dorothy Riggs, EDUCATION AND CHANGING SEX ROLES

New Hampshire, Univ. of, Durham 03824
Susan Franzosa, WOMEN IN EDUCATION; Sharon Nodie Oja, SEX ROLE LEARNING AND ACHIEVEMENT IN SCHOOL

Wheaton College, Norton MA 02766
Francis Maher and Kersti Yllo, WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Humboldt State Univ., Arcata, Cal. 95521
Pearl Oliner, SEXISM IN EDUCATION

Brooklyn College, CUNY, Brooklyn NY 11210
Rose Karel, SEXISM IN EDUCATION

S. Illinois Univ., Box 120, Edwardsville 62025
Rosanda Richards-Ellsworth, SEXISM AND EDUCATION

Virginia Tech., 321 Memorial Gym, Blacksburg, VA 24061
Joanne Rossi Becker, SEXISM IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

Arizona State Univ., Tempe 8557
Arlene Metha, THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

SUNY, Binghamton, NY 10021
Linda Biemer, WOMEN IN EDUCATION: SEXISM IN SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

Univ. of Wisconsin, Parkside, Box 1200, Kenosha 53141
Kathleen Phillips, TEACHING FROM A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

W. Michigan Univ., Kalamazoo 49008
Mary Cain, NONSEXIST EDUCATION

SUNY, New Paltz, NY 12561
Nancy Schniedewind, ISSUES OF RACISM AND SEXISM IN THE HELPING PROFESSIONS

INFUSED SYLLABI

Rosana Richards-Ellsworth, S. Illinois Univ., Box 120, Edwardsville 62025. EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS, EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION IN THE UNITED STATES, and SOCIOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

Nancy Green, Northeastern Ill. Univ., 5500 N. St. Louis, Chicago 60625. EDUCATION AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES and PHILOSOPHICAL AND HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION

Jean Erdman, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Univ. of Missouri, Kansas City 64110. TEACHING IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Helen Meyer, Teacher Education, Cal. State Univ., Hayward 94542. SOCIAL/PSYCHOMOTOR DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION and PLAY AND LEARNING IN THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG CHILD

Charlotte Iiams, Educ., Moorhead State Univ., Moorhead MN 56560. METHODS IN TEACHING ELEM. SCIENCE, HEALTH AND SOC. STUDIES, FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION, and SEMINAR IN ELEM. SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION

Joanne Rossi Becker,Virginia Tech., 321 Memorial Gym, Blacksburg, Va.24061. CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION IN ELEMENTARY MATH

Michelle Fine, Educ., Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia 19104. EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY: POLITICS AND CONTROVERSIES

Carol Gilligan, Harvard Grad. School, Cambridge, MA 02138 THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT and ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

Mary Miller, Sec. Educ., Stephens College, Columbia, MO 65215 FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

Roberta Golinkoff, Educ., Univ. of Delaware, Newark 19711. HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES

Paula Holleran, Educ., SUNY, Oneonta, N.Y. 13820. ADOLESCENT PSYCHOLOGY

Dorothy Kirkpatrick, E. Kent. Univ., Richmond 40475 CURRICULUM DESIGN IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION and TEACHING SECONDARY PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Charol Shakeshaft, Educ., Hofstra Univ., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL RESEARCH and CORE THEORY IN EDUC. ADMIN.

Kathleen Phillips, Educ., Univ. of Wisconsin-Parkside, Kenosha 53141. TEACHING FOR THE MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Dorothy Riggs, Educ., San Diego State Univ. 92182. FAIRNESS IN TEXTBOOKS.

Joan Shapiro and Ann Beuf, 106 Logan Hall, Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia 19104, STRUCTURE, FUNCTION AND LEADERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS and SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND LEADERSHIP IN AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS. Foundations courses for APPLE, A Program of Leadership Education.